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Although there have been many portentous historical developments since this essay was written in 1944, it remains an accurate Marxist guide to an understanding of the cause and cure of anti-Semitism. During World War II, optimists expected that the defeat of Nazi Germany would extirpate anti-Semitism at least in its virulent form. The same wishful thinkers greeted the founding of the State of Israel as the salvation of the Jews. But it should now be apparent to the blindest that the anti-Semitic evil has survived both Hitler's defeat and Israel's birth. The fact of anti-Semitic prejudice growing out of the strife-ridden conditions described in the essay continues to make of anti-Semitism a convenient instrument of political demagogues, of nations (especially those wooing the frankly anti-Jewish Arab countries), and of ruling classes bent on keeping the workers divided and subjugated.

Only the advent of bona fide Socialism can free society of religious and racial prejudice completely and forever.

(Printed in the United States of America.)

I.

Anti-Semitism and the Social Question.

"Settle the economic question and you settle all other questions. It is the Aaron's rod which swallows up the rest."—*William Morris.*

Anti-Semitism is a word which embodies one of the saddest and most shameful chapters in the history of what we are pleased to call civilization. We are accustomed to hear it with but a fleeting shudder. Yet, gathered within this word is a world of anguish and cruelties, of human suffering and torment that language cannot describe. Anti-Semitism reflects a black and putrid stain on the varicolored face of life. Originating 2,000 years ago, it has blighted the lives of countless millions through three succeeding systems of class rule. It is spreading now. It is spreading in America.

Before us is a file which expands daily with new reports of violent assaults on Jewish children in the playgrounds and streets of American cities, of the defilement of synagogues, of snide anti-Semitic utterances in the halls of Congress, and of the systematic spread of rumors calculated to incite Jew-hatred. Even that section of the capitalist press which, with marvelous restraint, has heretofore deigned to ignore anti-Semitic outbreaks, has recently been compelled to bring the unpleasant topic to the attention of its readers. It does so, however, in terms which encourage a variety of false hopes and assumptions. One is that community education in "tolerance" can solve the problem. Another, that laws punishing the expression of anti-Semitic utterances would restrain Jew-baiters. A third, that anti-Semitism in America is a juvenile disease, indeed, a part of the juvenile delinquency problem, and that it

will subside when parents once again have time to give their children "proper attention."

Such assumptions are dangerously misleading. They are dangerously misleading because they fail utterly to touch the basic causes of anti-Semitism in the modern world. Nay, they are positively harmful, for they divert attention from the basic causes. Moreover, they cannot help but lead to cruel disillusionment when, with the approaching termination of war, anti-Semitic outrages continue with renewed virulence. *And that they will continue, no serious student of the subject doubts. They will continue as long as the basic causes remain, as long as the social soil is hospitable to the rank and poisonous anti-Semitic weed.*

The defeat of the arch-anti-Semite, Adolf Hitler, and the destruction of the Nazi party will probably afford European Jewry a respite. But it is now abundantly clear that Allied victory will not eradicate the noxious growth. For here, in America, are all the elements which, in Germany, led not only to the practical extermination and exile of the Jews, but also to the degradation of the German workers to industrial serfdom. We, too, have big business men who, as Mr. Henry Wallace puts it, "finance anti-Semitic movements." We, too, have a slum proletariat, ever the tool of reaction. And, most significant, we, too, have a system of class rule beset by insoluble contradictions—contradictions which have now brought society to a state of permanent and mounting crisis—and a ruling class which will stop at nothing to preserve its privileges.

The solution to anti-Semitism does not lie in legislating or preaching against its effects; the solution lies in removing the cause, in cleansing the social soil of those impurities which nourish it. It is, therefore, neces-

sary, at the outset, to determine what these impurities are. Only then can we act intelligently to remove them.

And we can remove them! Deep-rooted though the problem is, it is not beyond the compass of human intelligence to solve it. To those who throw up their hands at the magnitude of the Social Question, of which the anti-Semitic problem is a part, we say, as Darwin said in rebuking sceptics of his day: It is not those who know much, but those who know little, who positively assert that this or that problem cannot be solved by science.

Anti-Semitism arose out of certain historical developments in the evolution of society. This we shall prove. But we shall also prove that the continuing evolution of society and the historical developments which are impending offer mankind the opportunity to put an end to internecine strife by abolishing the conditions which produce it, and the further opportunity so to reconstruct our society as to place a premium on cooperation and fraternity. In other words, the solution to anti-Semitism lies in abolishing the system of class rule, with its exploitation, competition and brute-jungle laws, and its replacement with a society of collective ownership and collective interests. We state this as our premise, a premise we intend to prove to the hilt. In the language of the great American Marxist, Daniel De Leon:

"Anti-Semitism, like class rule, cannot prevail. As class rule is doomed, so is anti-Semitism—and for the same reason. The race of man will break through the barriers that accident has raised, and private interest has cultivated. Mechanical progress destroys the accidents, the Social Revolution will abolish the private interest. Anti-Semitism will vanish with both—along with oppression of the working class—aye, because of the abolition of such oppression."

II.

The Beginning of Jewish Persecution.

> "As Cain was a wanderer and an outcast, not to be killed by anyone but marked with the sign of fear on his forehead, so the Jews—against whom the voice of the blood of Christ cries out—although they are not to be killed, must always be dispersed as wanderers upon the face of the earth."—*Pope Innocent III.*

To assert that capitalism is responsible for anti-Semitism immediately elicits the response that what is called the Jewish problem existed hundreds of years before the advent of the capitalist system. This is true, for the ugly phenomenon arose for the first time during the decline of the Roman Empire. For information concerning the earlier history of the Jews one may consult any number of excellent histories. It suffices here to point out that in their Palestinian home they were caught between the hammer and anvil of great warring powers. Conquered, enslaved and exiled, they were scattered throughout the civilized world, only to regroup themselves in the commercial communities of the Mediterranean theater.

In the earlier era they were often the victims of rapine and conquest. Friction also existed between them and Greek and Phoenician commercial rivals. On the other hand, it may be recorded that their commercial pursuit and trading skill (acquired by reason of the geographical accident which placed Palestine athwart the caravan route to the East) raised them in eminence and won for them special privileges in Alexander's empire and in the Roman Empire while it was still in the

ascendent. *Persecution* of the Jews as Jews did not begin until Rome had passed her zenith and was in decay.

Within the Roman community the Jews were an unprotected, therefore vulnerable, minority. Their importance as cogs in the Roman juggernaut had declined with the decline of trade and commerce. Simultaneously violent unrest among the half-starved proletarian freemen, whose labor was rendered superfluous by the hordes of captive slaves, threatened the very existence of the Roman ruling classes. Unaware, as so many workers of our time are, of the real cause of their misery, the Roman masses were easily diverted to the handiest scapegoats, the Jews. Emperor after emperor encouraged incitements against the Jews, some of which led to terrible massacres, the most horrible being that at Alexandria in A. D. 38. Not only did these incitements divert the attention of the masses, but they also, albeit incidentally, relieved many dissolute patricians of the necessity of paying debts owed to Jewish bankers.

Be it noted, however, that it was neither because of his race nor religion, but because a host of historical accidents placed him as a vulnerable minority in the Roman community that the Jew was made the victim of these class-inspired pogroms. Where the religious issue entered into the tragedy, it was injected cynically by the ruling classes whose pagan gods had long proved useful in holding propertiless freemen in superstitious subjugation. It was not until the rise of Christianity that religion became a central issue of the conflict.

The Conflict Between Christianity and Judaism.

Both religions, Christianity and Judaism, emerged from Palestine. Both sought to beguile the peoples

from their pagan gods to monotheism. For, like Christianity, Judaism was then a proselyting religion and its followers zealously sought converts. In the resultant rivalry the Christians sought to insure their triumph by making the line of demarcation between Christianity and Judaism deep and unbridgeable, and, at the same time, to cast in an immoral light those who remained on the Jewish side of it. This was not difficult in view of the complex events by which Christianity, whose apostles were Jews, and whose first converts were Jews, *became a non-Jewish religion within a century.* It was a simple matter to convince Gentiles that "the Jews" were responsible for the tragedy on Golgotha, for the crime of the Crucifixion of Christ.

The terrible indictment was read into the gospels and became a basis of Christian teaching. The hatred it engendered prevented the assimilation of the Jews, as other minorities have been assimilated, into European races, and, as Christianity became more powerful, and finally emerged as a State religion, resulted in their segregation and degradation. For fifteen centuries, practically every Christian child had it dinned into him that "the Jews" killed Christ. To this distortion of history were added innumerable fantastic myths calculated to incite contempt. From time to time economic factors—opportunities to profit from the slaughter and expulsion of Jews—played a role in their persecution. But behind the Jew-hatred that survived the centuries was the Jew's religion, Judaism, the very existence of which was an affront in the eyes of the Church.

It is noteworthy that the Jew was not the only victim of "Christian" ferocity in the Middle Ages. In "Christian" Spain, the Moors, whose worship of Mohammed likewise offended the Church, were subjected to similar persecution. Like the Jews, they were com-

pelled to wear distinguishing badges and coarse clothing and forbidden to shave or cut the hair round. And, like the Jews, they were excluded from most occupations and subjected to ruinous penalties. To the Church, both Judaism and Mohammedanism were equally execrable.

It is not our purpose here to write a history of anti-Semitism across the ages, nor to answer the numerous reproaches and accusations levelled at the Jew. Most of these are based on myths and superstitions. Where they have even a remote element of validity, it is not because the Jews are naturally endowed with this or that virtue or vice, but because of habits and customs shaped by segregation into Ghettos and exclusion from all but a tiny circumscribed sphere of society's economic life. Our purpose is to underscore the *fact* that throughout the feudal era anti-Semitism was a religious phenomenon, at least in all its outward manifestations, and that the flames of Jew-hatred were regularly and systematically replenished by the Christian Church.*

Indeed, the Jew in the Middle Ages could, in theory at least, escape from his plight by renouncing his religion and by being baptised into the Church. Many did, and by embracing Christianity they were able to remain when their brethren were driven from country after country by orders of expulsion. We say they found an escape "in theory at least" because actually

* It is pertinent to emphasize here that the Church, though ostensibly a religious institution, was a potent political organization and a vested interest. Much of the riches of the feudal period were concentrated in its hands and its landholdings exceeded by far those of the richest potentate and prince. It was estimated by the French historian, Taine, that at one time the Church had a third of the territory, one-half of the revenue, and two-thirds of the capital of Europe. Property and political power were the primary factors in its religious militancy.

these Marranos, or "new Christians," as they were called, did not escape persecution altogether. In times of social unrest, they were still available as scapegoats. But the significant point here is that the Church admitted them into its fold and, barring periods of extreme social stress, they lived peacefully in the Christian community.

The Bourgeois Revolution and the Decline of Anti-Semitism.

The gradual emancipation of the Jew from the crudest aspects of "Christian" persecution began when Protestantism destroyed Roman Catholic predominance. Protestantism is, historically, the religious reflex of the struggle of the revolutionary bourgeoisie against feudal trammels. In the capitalist system which it was sought to establish, the Jew had a socially useful place and he entered more and more openly into the growing commercial life of Holland, France, England and, later, of America. Cromwell permitted him to return to England, from whence he had been expelled in 1290, not out of love for the Jew but because he recognized the useful role the Jew played in the society aborning.

With the triumph of the bourgeois revolution the old ecclesiastical anti-Semitism declined sharply. The Wandering Jew, who listened through the panel of a door to the French National Assembly of 1791 as that body debated the question of admitting Jews to full citizenship, threw down his pack when the motion was carried. Casting off his stoop and straightening his shoulders, he walked firmly into the chamber, a free man. His gesture symbolized the change in the Jews' status, a change for the better, at least in the more advanced capitalist nations.

This is not to say that the old hostility, deeply ingrained as it was, completely vanished. It had not. Ancient myths and accusations were still whispered, but anti-Semitism had lost its old virulence. Capitalism was expanding. It needed both the labor of the proletarian Jews and the capital and commercial and banking experience of wealthy Jews to complete its conquest. As broad economic spheres opened to them, the Jews believed they foresaw the day when the ugly and bloody chapter of anti-Semitism would end.

Alas! They did not foresee that capitalism, the system which rescued Jewry from the feudal Ghetto, would itself generate economic and social antagonisms that pollute the social soil. As capitalist competition sharpened and, with it, class antagonisms, the Jews faced, not a declining, but a rising hostility. But it is important to understand that, while not disconnected from previous religious animosity, recrudescent anti-Semitism was not religious but political. Although an umbilical cord connected latter-day anti-Semitism with the past, it aimed, not at the Jews' religion (except obliquely), but at his *race*. Whatever its affinity with the ecclesiastical anti-Semitism of feudalism, the persecution of the Jews which commenced in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the distinct product of the capitalist system of class rule.

III.

The Scapegoat.

> "Every time things are bad for the Germans, they blame the Jews. And at the present time things are particularly bad for the Germans. Ah-ha! The scapegoat!"—*Mussolini, in an interview with Emil Ludwig in* 1932.

One of the conditions imposed by Germany on France at the Peace of Frankfurt, which concluded the Franco-Prussia war (1870-71) was the payment of a huge indemnity. The subsequent flow of gold across the Rhine provided German capitalism with the means to launch an unprecedented program of industrial expansion. As is almost invariably the case, the rapid increase in capital was accompanied by a stock- and company-promotion mania that reached fantastic proportions. All strata of the population were infected by the speculative fever. Well known names were used (with their owners' consent) to peddle huge blocks of worthless stock. The bubble was stretched to the bursting point. Then, quite suddenly, it was pricked.

On February 7, 1873, a Jewish liberal leader, Eduard Lasker, revealed the real state of affairs in a famous speech before the Prussian Diet. The slump which followed left a large section of the German capitalists ruined. Bankruptcy and discontent were widespread, and were reflected in a rising interest in the Socialist or labor movement. Clearly a scapegoat was needed, and the German Junker-capitalist rulers found him in the Jew.

Several Jews were associated (together with hosts

of non-Jews) in the fraudulent promotions, and popular resentment was deliberately diverted to these. The most blatant falsehoods were circulated, charging "the Jews" with conspiring with Frenchmen to cripple the Fatherland. An obscure journalist, Wilhelm Marr, wrote a sensational pamphlet called "The Victory of Judaism over Germanism," which was disseminated eagerly by Junkers and clerics. Subsequently, when Bismarck and the National Liberal party (so-called liberal bourgeois) parted company, the regime gave its tacit support to anti-Semitic agitation.

Anti-Semitic publications poured upon the market. A German Anti-Semitic league was founded. Anti-Semites electioneered boldly as anti-Semites and won several seats in the Diet and Reichstag. Increasingly vocal, the movement resulted in sporadic violence, but such outbreaks usually had the opposite effect of that intended. Subsequently, due to scandals and internal dissension within the organized German anti-Semitic movement, the agitation against the Jew waned. Not, however, before it had radiated into other countries, and particularly Czarist Russia.

The Inspired Pogroms in Czarist Russia.

If ever a scapegoat was needed by a dissolute ruling class, it was needed in Czarist Russia of the 'eighties. Centuries behind western Europe economically and socially, Russia was seething with unrest. Capitalism had succeeded in securing a foothold, forcing the feudal rulers to give way inch by inch. But with every concession yielded to the capitalists the Czar's government and the class it represented intensified the exploitation of the mass of peasants. In 1881 Alexander II was assassinated. The effect was electric. Every thought

of reform vanished as the fear-ridden rulers sought to divert the rebellious energies of the people away from themselves. The Jews were the victims.

Nearly half of all the Jews in the world, some 5,000,000, lived in the western provinces of Russia in 1881. Like all other ethnic minorities, they had their own costume, distinctive occupations and language. They had few political rights, but neither had other ethnic groups. However, unlike others, they had their own religion. As Louis Golding observes in "The Jewish Problem," "the Jew was regarded by every *moujik* as the slayer of Christ and the enemy of Christians."

This, then, was the magazine in which the match of German "scientific" anti-Semitism fell. Deliberately incited by the Czar's government, murderous rioters and incendiaries swept through 167 towns and villages, torturing and killing thousands of Jewish men, women and children. But this was only the first of several inspired Russian pogroms.

In 1903 there occurred the Kishineff massacre, a carefully organized expedition of looting and butchery that lasted three days. While mobs of slum proletarians led by slummist aristocrats murdered and robbed at will, the police and military stood by (much as the police stood by while Negroes were murdered in the Detroit riots of 1943), laughing and "leisurely eating sunflower seeds." Even the legal newspapers commented on the *political* character of the Kishineff massacre. But it was the illegal and revolutionary press which, understanding its *class* nature, correctly assayed the event.

"Rejoice then, you reactionists, you literary gutter-snipes, whose main stock in trade is national and religious hatred," cried the Socialist organ, *Revolutionary Russia*. "You succeeded in enraging the ignorant poor

of one nationality against the poor of the other. Rejoice, then, you bourgeois Jew-baiters. You have succeeded in diverting the discontent of the exploited against the whole class of the exploiters toward your Jewish competitors.... Rejoice, then, you uniformed instigators. With mischievous [satisfaction] you will see that a part of the Jewish bourgeoisie, who were dissatisfied with you, will appeal to you and beg of you to protect and defend them."

In this cry of defiance is summed up the uses to which latter-day anti-Semitism is put. For here it is exposed as a means of dividing the workers against themselves, and as a weapon of capitalist competitive warfare. And here, also, the Jewish bourgeoisie are revealed in their proper class perspective and their ignoble role.

The Kishineff massacre was by no means the last of the Russian pogroms. Between 1905 and 1909 it is estimated that 284 outbreaks took no fewer than 50,000 lives. Other eastern European countries imitated Russia as social unrest spread. As a result of this protracted terror, thousands of destitute fugitives sought refuge in other lands, some 2,300,000 emigrating to America.

Immigrants As Scapegoats.

American capitalism welcomed this influx of exploitable labor. Its agents encouraged and assisted in organizing the immigration. But this did not prevent the capitalists themselves from inciting Jew-hatred among native-born American workers. Experienced in the use of racial hostility as a goad and of immigrants as scapegoats, they encouraged the plausible but fallacious assumption that the native workers' plight—low wages, unemployment, reduced living standards—was

due to immigration and the competition in the labor market of the newcomers.

At various times the Swedes, Italians, Germans and Irish had been the targets of this class-inspired racial animosity. With each wave of immigration the newcomers were blamed "for taking *American* workers' jobs" — the *American* workers frequently being those who had arrived with the previous influx and who were, themselves, the objects of earlier incitations!

But where the Swedes, Italians, etc., were assimilated in the American melting pot, and gradually lost their "racial" identity, the Jews remained "Jews." Long after the stock charges leveled against immigrants—that they lived in overcrowded, disease-breeding tenements and brought down wage standards—ceased to apply (except insofar as Jewish workers shared with other workers these capitalist-imposed conditions), the Jews were looked upon as "strangers." Unlike other scapegoats of class rule, they were to serve again and again in that unhappy role.

Revival of German Anti-Semitism.

The organized anti-Semitic movement which arose in Germany in the 'seventies, and later subsided, reappeared after the first World War. It was given a fillip by a new legend, or series of legends, growing out of Germany's defeat. Militarily the Fatherland had been considered invincible. Even with the conclusion of war the army represented a formidable power. How, then, explain the disastrous collapse in the fall of 1918. Why, the *Jew,* of course! "Jews" stabbed the army in the back. "Jews" engineered the revolution at home. "Jews" controlled the Social Democratic party; the Social Democratic party controlled the new Republican government; the Republican government signed the

Peace of Versailles. Ergo: the "Jews" betrayed the Fatherland!

Nor did the monstrous fiction end here. Not only did the "Jews" betray the Fatherland; they also directed and controlled the Bolshevik Revolution! "Jewish-Bolsheviks" became a commonplace epithet.

Books were written to "prove" this myth "scientifically." Junker militarists eagerly seized the anti-Semitic weapon to explain Germany's defeat and defend the "honor" and "prestige" of Prussian militarism. Lengthy essays were inscribed recalling the military prowess of the barbaric Germanic tribes against whom the Romans sent their finest legions to destruction. But these simple tribesmen were corrupted and softened by the "Jews." Eric von Ludendorff even goes so far as to blame the "Jews" for Christianity which, according to the Kaiser's quartermaster general, infected the Nordic race with pacifism!

The "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion."

The fiction was elaborated upon. The plot to undermine society was not confined to Germany and Russia alone. It was a world plot. And to back it up, the anti-Semites produced "proof" of the plot, the fantastic, and now thoroughly discredited, "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion."

A farrago of fantasy and nonsense, the "Protocols" were nevertheless translated into several languages and given wide circulation. They purport to be a report of a meeting of Zionist leaders at Basle in 1897 at which a conspiracy was allegedly entered into to conquer the world. The alleged methods that were to be employed in this prodigious conquest were the organization of economic crises (as if capitalism, by its very nature, did not throw society into periodic crises and

convulsions), the corruption of European womanhood, the ample use of liquor to befuddle the leaders of public opinion, the blowing up of European capitals, etc., etc.

To the astonishment of rational people everywhere the "Protocols" gained credence! The London *Morning Post* believed implicitly in their authenticity. Even the staid London *Times* asked: "Have we escaped a German peace. . . . only to submit to a Jewish peace?" It sounded a veritable alarm and demanded a public inquiry into the authenticity of the "Protocols." Ford's *Dearborn Independent* published them as "documentary evidence" of a Jewish conspiracy. Taken aback by this unexpected reception, Jewish scholars were utterly at a loss. Disproving the "Protocols" was much like disproving Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.

Then, quite suddenly, the real origin of the "Protocols" was discovered. The subsequent exposure of the forgery is a story in itself and we shall do no more than summarize it here. Purely by accident, the Constantinople correspondent of the London *Times,* Philip Graves, came across an anonymous satire on Napoleon III, published in 1864. Struck by the similarity between this work and the "Protocols," he made a detailed comparison. It was revealed that the program for world conquest outlined in the "Protocols" was substantially the same as that which, according to the satirist, was recommended to Louis Bonaparte by the ghost of Machiavelli. Of the first 110 pages of the "Protocols" no fewer than twenty were an almost verbatim translation of the satire, and the remainder were largely a paraphrase. The paraphrasing was incredibly clumsy at that because the Russian translator (the "Protocols" first appeared in Russian) left not only the French idioms and turns of speech intact, but also the French

spelling of proper names. And this work, published in 1864 as fiction, reappeared in the twentieth century as historic!

Later the authorship of the French satire was traced to a certain Maurice Joly. An attempt was made to prove that he was Jewish, that his real name was Moses Joel, and that he was a communist. This claim was made by the British aristocrat, Lord Alfred Douglas. But the records revealed that he was descended from a strictly Catholic family related to provincial nobility and that his father and grandfather were high officials.

The exposure of the forgery was printed in the London *Times* on August 16, 17 and 18, 1921. But this was by no means the end of the malicious "Wise Men of Zion" fabrication. Dozens of editions of the "Protocols" continue to circulate. Revision after revision was made to make the accusation more plausible. The name and prestige of Henry Ford lent it "authenticity," even after that industrial potentate had been compelled publicly to retract. Today the "Protocols" are a part of the arsenal of every anti-Semitic-fascist outfit in the country. No other recent work on world affairs has had anywhere near as great a circulation. For the Nazis it was ready-made ammunition. As the arch-anti-Semite, Adolf Hitler, wrote in his work, "Mein Kampf":

"The very enormity of a lie contributes to its success. . . . .The masses of people easily succumb to it, as they cannot believe it possible that anyone should have the shameless audacity to invent such things. . . . .Even if the clearest proof of its falsehood is forthcoming, something of the lie will nevertheless stick."

IV.

Racial Jingoism.

"Race is an empty phrase, an utter swindle."
—*Friedrich Mueller.*

Between the two world wars anti-Semitism spread rapidly with the deepening crisis of capitalism. It spread to countries formerly relatively free from the blight, to Great Britain and America. But it was in Germany, where economic, social and financial crisis followed hard on the heels of military defeat, that the "Jewish problem" received the greatest attention.

Nazi anti-Semitism revived many of the anti-Jewish myths of the Middle Ages. But its technique differed from that of the Church in that its indictment was leveled at the Jews *as a race*. The Jews are, of course, no more of a race than the English. As the alleged Anglo-Saxon is "dashed and doused and strained by all the races of civilization"—as De Leon put it—so are the Jews. Anthropological science has proved this, and only the race theorists, "the astrologers of sociology," dispute it.*

*"What nationality, as far as the nations of Europe and America are concerned, is based on race?" asked Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu. "Is it England with her Bretons, Saxons, Danes and Normans? Is it France with her Cimbri, Gauls, Iberians, Germans and Latins? Is it Germany where the Teutons have interbred in the West with the Celts and in the East with the Slavs to such an extent that in many districts of Germany the blue eyes and fair hair of the Germans are no longer to be met with in the majority of the population? Is it Russia, the old Muscovite Russia, with her conglomeration of never Russified Scythians, Sarmathians, Slavs, Tartars and Finns? .... All of us, be we Frenchmen, Russians, Germans, Englishmen, Italians, Spaniards, Hungarians, Greeks, Rumanians or Bulgarians are....mixed blood."

And the Jews are probably the most mixed "race" of all. Soon after their peaceful conquest of Canaan they interbred with and assimilated the native aborigines. During their Babylonian captivity they married non-Semitic alien women, else why did Ezra and Nehemiah make such a fuss about mixed marriages when the Jews returned to Jerusalem. The great-grandmother of David, the most Jewish of all the Jewish kings, was a Moabite, i.e., non-Jewish! Then in the Graeco-Roman period, heathens and pagans by the thousands adopted Judaism and were absorbed by the "race." From historical sources we learn that whole non-Jewish Arabic tribes converted themselves to the Mosaic faith. And so on.

Similarly, in their wanderings about Europe, the Jews mixed with Spaniards, Gauls, Germans, etc. This is proved conclusively by the fact that laws were decreed which forbade it, for a thing is not forbidden if it isn't done. Indeed, far more so than Defoe's Englishman, the Jews are—

"A race uncertain and unev'n,
Derived from all the nations under Heaven."

Race Vanity of the German Social Democracy.

For the Nazis it was highly important that the alleged racial stigma stick, for this not only brought *all* Jews under attack, but simultaneously it tended to inflate the national ego and arouse the chauvinism of "pure" Aryans. And here it might be added that German Social Democracy had done little to immunize the German workers against the racial myth. For decades the Social Democratic leaders had set themselves up as the oracles of Socialism, and the German movement as something intrinsically superior. This jingoistic presumption was glaringly evident in the relations of the German Social Democracy with non-German parties. Social Democratic emigrants carried it with them into other countries. Typical of these was Herman Schlueter, an arrant and pretentious humbug who, in endeavoring to impose his reformism on the American workers, arrogantly declared: "We Germans speak

from above down." This and a similar display of race vanity by the Social Democrat, Ernest Untermann, provoked De Leon to write the following trenchant rebuke:

"There is no virtue and there is no vice that is peculiar to any one race, and that any other race could not, or does not indulge in. Indeed, even before natural science scorned race theorists as the 'astrologers of sociology,' the averagely informed man made the experience that virtues as well as vices are international. The fact is preeminently illustrated by the universality of the vice of jingoism: there is no nationality or race, using the term loosely, whose folklore does not indicate that, in its infancy, that particular race did not consider itself the 'salt of the earth,' the 'elect of the Lord'; and there is no race, some of whose literature, even at this present date, does not indicate that the writer considers his race 'the thing.' Even the general common sense of the human race has relegated the jingo to the shelves where curios are kept that recall the infancy and barbaric period of man; and Socialist science, based upon the material facts, rejects the jingoistic presumption of any race, while Socialist morality, the reflex of the material facts, condemns the posture of the jingo as immorally harmful. All this notwithstanding, there is a curious phenomenon that appears in our days, a phenomenon all the more curious because it appears in the Socialist camp—the phenomenon consists in the impudent presumption on the part of a certain element.... to set itself up, as Germans, as superior to all other people, and, of course, as oracles of Socialism.

"....It [national jingoism]," De Leon continued, "can only tend to play into the capitalist's hand by tending to keep the nationalities of the land divided..... To the Socialist movement in particular, this abscess

is dangerous; the movement's safety requires that it be lanced."

No Escape Through Apostasy.

Unhappily the abscess was not lanced, at least insofar as the German movement was concerned. And Nazi technique exploited this race vanity for all that it was worth. For the "non-Aryan" Jew it left no avenue of escape. The Jew of the Middle Ages could, through religious apostasy, gain some measure of safety. But the "Jew" in Germany, even if his parents, grandparents and great-grandparents were converted to Christianity, and if he was himself a zealous son of the Church, was vulnerable to the same persecution the Nazis visited upon his remote kinsman who professed Judaism. Nor did it matter that one was only half-Jew, or quarter-Jew. To have even a tiny quantum of "Jewish blood" was sufficient to read one out of the Nazi pale.

When the German ruling class withdrew their support from the Social Democratic betrayers of the workers, and raised Hitler to power in 1933, it was that arch anti-Semite's declared object to drive the Jews from German national life. For a time many of the bourgeois Jews hoped for immunity. They paid fat bribes to Nazi officials, applauded the "firm measures" of the Nazis toward workers' organizations, and otherwise sought to purchase safety. But their poltroonery was in vain. The majority fell victim to the "cold pogrom" of economic exclusion. Only a few wealthy Jews escaped the ban—by purchasing an Aryan "bill of health"! One, whose father was Jewish, bought the boon of immunity after "proving" in court that his Gentile mother was unfaithful!

Such is the obscene nature of Nazi-capitalist anti-Semitism. Its victims are legion. And they include, besides the Jews of all classes, the Gentile German workers. For anti-Semitism has proved a potent weapon in keeping the workers divided and prolonging and intensifying their slavery.

V.

Anti-Semitism—Instrument of Foreign Policy.

> "We can see, now, that anti-Semitism has become a permanent and deliberate instrument of domestic and foreign policy of several of the most powerful countries in the world. We can observe that this instrument is being wielded with deadly effect in the knockdown and drag-out fight for redivision of the earth's surface...."—*Demaree Bess in the Saturday Evening Post, March* 18, 1939.

What is it in the capitalist social soil that nourishes the anti-Semitic seed? It is conflict, conflict between capitalist nations, conflict between classes, conflict within classes. The capitalist system is one in which an owning class monopolizes natural and social opportunities; in which the privately owned means of wealth-production are used to exploit a propertiless working class; in which the exploiters themselves engage in perpetual competitive warfare with each other, nationally and individually. Thus capitalist society presents the aspect of a jungle of wild beasts, in which the "fittest" terrorize the less "fit," as De Leon expressed it, and these in turn imitate among themselves the "fit" qualities of the biggest brute. "The raw-boned struggle is there," wrote De Leon. "It is inevitable. It is a shadow cast by the angles of fact of the capitalist system."

In the incessant international struggle between capitalist nations for foreign markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of economic and political influence,

anti-Semitism has proved a potent weapon. Polish imperialists have long used the pauperized Polish Jews as an instrument to bargain for colonies and markets; give Poland colonies, they say, and she can settle her "superfluous" Jewish population there. And in Rumania, the anti-Semitic Iron Guard, influenced and aided by Germany, accentuated the "Jewish question" in order to replace the old regime, allied with France, with one that would orient itself toward Berlin.

But it was German capitalism which developed anti-Semitism into a more formidable and far-reaching instrument of foreign policy than any other national capitalist group. And it is significant to note here that by utilizing this infernal policy to establish a bond with fascist and imperialist elements in Latin and Balkan nations, Nazi anti-Semitism did not disturb the cozy relations existing between the German plunderbund and its Anglo-American class colleagues. The workers should not soon forget that Anglo-American capitalism showed every disposition to shut its eyes to the Nazi anti-Semitic terror—if only German *capitalism* would relax its aggressive commercial policies. ". . . . . nor would the world have failed to acclaim Hitler as a great German if he had known where to stop," Sir Nevile Henderson, British Ambassador to Berlin, wrote in "Failure of a Mission," "even, for instance, after Munich *and the Nuremberg decrees for the Jews.*" (Italics ours.)

The Nazi capitalists were the first to realize that anti-Semitism might be effectively used as a rallying cry in southeastern Europe in their campaign to dominate the Balkans. Notwithstanding Nazi slurs directed toward Slav "sub-races," German capitalists found themselves on common ground with the landlords and capitalists of Balkan nations in dealing with the Jews. The

result was all the Nazi capitalists desired, accelerating both their political and economic advance.

Why Mussolini Adopted the Anti-Semitic Policy.

But the Balkans were also an important market for the plunder levied against Italian workers by Italian capitalists. Every economic and political advance of German capitalism in this sphere marked a corresponding retreat for the Italian plunderers. It was partly in consequence of this, and not of direct coercion by Hitler, that Mussolini, early in 1938, announced that his government was about to adopt anti-Jewish measures.

We say "partly" advisedly. A second reason for adopting anti-Semitism as a policy of the Fascist State arose out of the contest between England and Italy for predominance in the Arab world. In an agreement with England, Mussolini had committed himself not to conduct anti-British propaganda among the Arabs. But this did not prevent him from replacing anti-British broadcasts in Arabic with anti-Semitic broadcasts in the same language. Thus he could exploit the difficulties England was having over the Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine and pose as champion of the Arab cause.

As recently as 1932 Mussolini had boasted that Italian Fascism had nothing in common with anti-Semitism. "Anti-Semitism does not exist in Italy," he told Emil Ludwig. "Italian Jews have always behaved well as citizens and fought bravely as soldiers. They occupy eminent positions in the universities, in the army, in the banks." He might also have added, *"in the Fascist party!"* Among Italy's 45,000 de-Judaized, assimilated and Italianized Jews, the majority were workers and only a few were persons of wealth. These few did not scruple to support Fascism as a means to preserve their

class privileges. Nevertheless, the anti-Semitic policy was adopted by the Fascist party. It was adopted by the Fascist party, not because a "Jewish problem" existed in Italy, but because anti-Semitism at home aided Italian capitalism in its power politics abroad.

One could go on indefinitely illustrating the use of the anti-Semitic weapon in international capitalist competition. The foregoing, however, we believe will suffice. Germany, Italy, Vichy France, Spain, the Balkan nations, even Japan, have used it boldly as an instrument of foreign policy. Nor has England been above exploiting the plight of the Jews to enhance its imperialist interests. The Balfour Declaration* of November 2, 1917, in which the British government declared that it viewed "with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People" and would "use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object" was a measure of imperialist warfare. And, lest it be assumed that British "high-mindedness" was a factor in the formulation of this policy, let it be recalled that Lloyd George supported it, and Lloyd George, as the Earl of Oxford and Asquith pointed out, "does not give a damn for the Jews or their past or future."

In his "History of the Peace Conference of Paris," H. W. V. Temperley described the Balfour Declaration as "a war measure adopted by the Powers of the

*"Although it was issued in the name of the British Government, the Balfour Declaration was, as a matter of fact, a joint policy of the Governments of Great Britain and the United States. Before its official publication, it was the subject of prolonged and cordial negotiations between Mr. Woodrow Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George, the respective heads of the two Governments. In the words of Hon. Josephus Daniels, the United States was a moral cosponsor of the entire plan."—Senator Robert F. Wagner (*Congressional Record,* February 1, 1944).

Entente in their own interests. . . . a bold. imaginative and statesmanlike effort to prevent the influence of Jewry being exerted on the side of the Central Powers."

It should be noted, however, that there was a second purpose behind the Balfour Declaration, and one which coincided with imperialist aims in the Middle East. Far-sighted British statesmen envisaged a little "loyal Jewish Ulster" in a sea of potentially hostile Arabism. In 1920, when he was Secretary of State, Winston Churchill said:

"If, as may well happen, there should be created in our lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

As is well known, the British government repudiated its pledge in a White Paper in 1939. This was British capitalism's counter-move to Nazi-Fascist penetration in the Arab world. By limiting Jewish immigration to 75,000, and closing Palestine's doors to the Jews in 1944, the White Paper was meant to conciliate the Arab nationalists. Now, however, Nazi-Fascist influence in the Middle East has ebbed and this policy may once more be reversed. If it is, it will be largely because of the rapid growth of Anglo-American imperialist interests in the area which a Jewish State would have the duty to guard.

From this it is readily seen that Anglo-American capitalism uses the Jewish problem to achieve an end not unlike that for which Nazi-Fascist capitalism

strives, albeit not in the same way. The policy of Anglo-American capitalism is, in other words, the obverse of the same coin of which Nazi-Fascist anti-Semitism is the reverse.

VI.

Anti-Semitism—Capitalist Weapon in the Class Struggle.

> "Socialism knows not such insulting, iniquitous distinctions as 'inferior' and 'superior' races among the proletariat. It is for capitalism to fan the fires of such sentiments in its scheme to keep the proletariat divided."—*De Leon.*

No stratum of capitalist society is free from war, conflict, struggle. Jews are a part of all strata. The great majority of the four million Jews in capitalist America, as well as the millions elsewhere, are wage workers. Many are petty capitalists. Some are part and parcel of the ruling plutocracy. Thus, at every level they are involved in the conflicts engendered by capitalism. Hence, also, at every level anti-Semitism flourishes.

Against Jewish competitors, Gentile businessmen can employ not only the ordinary weapons of competitive warfare, but the special weapons reserved exclusively for use against the Jew—Jew-baiting, Jew-blacklisting, Jew-boycotting. There are thousands of big and little Gentile labor-skinners who are anti-Semitic for no other reason than that their rival labor-skinners are Jews.

But capitalism also engenders competition between workers—competition for jobs. The greater the number of workers without jobs, the sharper is the competition; the sharper the competition, all the more fertile

is the soil for anti-Semitism. The capitalist class, Jew and Gentile, looks upon a surplus of workers not only as natural and desirable, but as necessary. Capitalism recruited the industrial reserve army largely through the displacement of workers by machines and improved technique. The industrial reserve army, wrote Marx, "belongs to capital quite as absolutely as if the latter had bred it at its own cost. Independently of the limits of the actual increase in population, it creates, for the changing needs of the self-expansion of capital, a mass of human material always ready for exploitation."

Capitalism requires an army of unemployed of sufficient size to provide for capital expansion. Capitalism creates such an army. But the laws and contradictions operating within the system place no restrictions on the size of the army. Among other things these laws and contradictions decree that an ever larger portion of the capital outlay be *constant* capital (machines, raw material, etc.) and an ever smaller portion *variable* capital (wages). The development may be seen in our new monster semi-automatic strip steel mills which multiply the output per worker many times and greatly decrease the over-all demand for steel labor. Indeed, this process is so accelerated that today, except in time of war, the army of unemployed reaches Frankenstein proportions. It numbered in excess of ten million when the second World War began; in view of the tremendous strides in improving production technique since 1939 few doubt that it will be far larger when the war ends.

Mass unemployment, the tacit admission by capital that it cannot provide jobs for its slaves, stimulates social unrest and increases the demand among the workers that the wage-capital relationship be ended once and

for all. To counter this demand all the agencies at the command of the ruling class are directed to the appeasement and the division of the workers—especially to their division. For, once the working class unites, once it sees through the tricks and stratagems which keep it divided, Gentile against Jew, white against Negro, craft against craft, and even male against female —in short, once the working class becomes conscious of its *class* interests, it will make short shrift of the system which consigns to the industrial scrapheap millions of useful producers in their prime. It will build a system in which involuntary unemployment will be unknown, and machines, instead of kicking workers out of jobs, will kick hours out of the working day.

Divide et Impera—Divide and Rule!

Our modern exploiters, in inciting racial animosity, but emulate the debauched and surfeited rulers of another age. In ancient Rome, where slaves far outnumbered Roman freemen, the great secret of the latter's dominance was summed up in the Latin motto: *Divide et impera*—divide your slaves and so rule them. At one time sixty million slaves of the Roman Empire were held in subjugation chiefly through this device. The skilled slaves were encouraged to look with contempt on the unskilled. The slaves from Greece were pitted against the slaves from Gaul, and the slaves from Gaul against the slaves from Ethiopia, etc. In his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Gibbon describes how slaves were used to guard slaves, and oversee their labor, and how races were craftily set in competition with one another.

It is a lesson our modern rulers have learned well, as witness their preeminent success in thus far keeping the potentially invincible American working class di-

vided against itself. Anti-Semitism is but one device employed to this end, but it is one which bids fair to do untold harm to the cause of working class emancipation in the years immediately ahead. For if the capitalists can succeed in putting the onus for the war, for unemployment, for poverty amidst plenty, *on the Jews,* and thus divert the masses from the real culprit, *capitalism,* they may postpone the doom of their system for years, possibly for decades.

The Role of the Slummery.

Make no mistake about it. A powerful element of our ruling class is trying to do just that. It has at its command the two elements needed to sow anti-Semitism among the masses—a slum proletariat and money—in large measure. The slum proletariat—touts and roughnecks, declassed bourgeois, pool-hall loafers, drunkards, bootleggers, racketeers, prostitutes and pimps, sadists, the vast multitude who people the underworld and near-underworld—is ever the tool of reaction.* In his "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx warns the workers against this element and shows how the nineteenth century political adventurer and usurper (who later became Napoleon III, Emperor of France) organized the slummery into a private army to insult and club republicans and disperse counter-demonstrations. Mussolini's Fascist hoodlums and Hitler's Brown Shirts were likewise recruited largely from the slum proletariat—the offal of capitalist society. American native fascist and anti-Semitic groups are almost

"The 'dangerous class,' the social scum, that passively rotting class thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue."—"Communist Manifesto" by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.*

wholly drawn from the slummery and near-slummery.

The slummery is attracted to anti-Semitism. In Germany the slummists, drilled and disciplined by the "armed bohemians" (as Konrad Heiden describes the Nazi leaders), supplied with cash from the contributions of bankers and industrialists, and enjoying virtual immunity from punishment for their crimes, vied with one another in their barbarous assaults on the Jews. Zealous and ferocious fanaticism meant prominence in the Nazi party, and prominence in the Nazi party often brought with it a place in the party hierarchy, a soft job in the State bureaucracy, and opportunity for extortion and bribe-taking.

Similarly the slummery excreted by American capitalism, the elements which compose the Industrial Workers' League, National Workers' League, Industrial Legion of America, Committee of a Million, Christian Front and Christian Mobilizers, and other Coughlin outfits, look to their own interests, to their own "emancipation" from the wretchedness imposed by class rule. Anti-Semitism is the nexus between the slum proletariat and the "Park Avenue slummery." The slummist who puts anti-Semitic stickers on Jewish shops, who sells the vile publications of the priest, Coughlin, on the cathedral steps, who operates in gangs and assaults Jews, and otherwise engages in anti-Semitic activity, is deeply conscious that behind him are powerful forces. As in Germany, so in America, big industrialists and financiers, though not openly anti-Semitic, are known to finance anti-democratic movements. They are men with big names, such as Henry Ford, Alfred P. Sloan, J. H. Alstyne, Lammot DuPont, E. T. Weir, and many others.

Only a Class Solution.

In commenting upon the proposal said to have been made by prominent Jews and non-Jews to the Jewish people to "keep out of politics" as a means of fighting anti-Semitism, the *Economist,* of London, a top-capitalist organ, said:

"But even if the Jew abstains from all political activity, will not increasing social conflict introduce anti-Semitism into England in any case? The problem in the last analysis is therefore not whether England is immune from anti-Semitism, but whether England is immune from social conflict." (June 10, 1933.)

The statement epitomizes the problem. It fails, however, to point out that "increasing social conflict" is unavoidable in the capitalist premises. And, unless one recognizes this latter fact, unless he opens his eyes to realities, and perceives that the conflicts generated by capitalist society *must grow fiercer,* his efforts to find a solution to the problem of anti-Semitism availeth naught. *In other words, there is no JEWISH solution to anti-Semitism; there is only a CLASS solution. This is so because anti-Semitism is an integral, if subordinate, part of the Social Question and can only be solved when the Social Question is solved. However complicated the history of anti-Semitism, however multitudinous its ramifications, its solution is the simple one of ending class rule.*

As the Gentile capitalist throws the dust of racial prejudice in the eyes of the Gentile worker, so the Jewish capitalist seeks to blind the Jewish worker to the *class* solution to his problem with Jewish chauvinism. For it must be understood that the capitalist *class* interests of the Jewish capitalists predominate. Jewish capitalists, in other words, will entertain no solution of anti-

Semitism which compromises their interests as capitalists, i.e., as joint exploiters with the Gentile capitalists of the working class. That is why their role has ever been a pusillanimous one, why, at times, they have even supported anti-Semitic politicians when the alternative meant supporting a Socialist candidate, why they have grasped eagerly at every opportunity to ally themselves with potentates of the Church and other social reactionaries.

Examples of pusillanimity on the part of classconscious Jewish capitalists are almost endless. We cite, briefly, two.

1. One of the most prominent Jewish leaders in America is Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, leader of the American Jewish Committee. Judge Proskauer was one of the founders of the now defunct Liberty League, an organization in which he worked cheek by jowl with plutocratic anti-Semites, and an organization which gave direct financial assistance to a notorious anti-Semitic outfit called the "Sentinels."

2. In the feudal bailiwick of Boss Hague there is a Jewish religious leader, Rabbi Benjamin Plotkin, of Congregation Emanu-El. Rabbi Plotkin is no friend of Boss Hague. He is, in fact, the only Jewish religious leader in Jersey City with the courage and manliness to denounce from the pulpit Hague's rape of civil liberties. For his temerity in challenging the corrupt Hague machine, according to Willard Wiener, writing in *The New Republic,* Plotkin was evicted from the Jewish Community Center. The influential Jews who control the center were afraid the people of Jersey City "would think they were Communists."

These examples are merely intended to typify the class outlook of Jewish capitalists and to show how

class interests eclipse all other interests. The "solutions" to anti-Semitism that emanate from this quarter must, therefore, be as futile as "solutions" offered by equally classconscious Gentile capitalists. Indeed, they can only serve to divert the Jewish workers from the real solution, and waste their energies in activities that must lead to bitter disillusionment.

No Redemption in Zionism.

We have not space here to deal with all the visionary proposals for dealing with the "Jewish problem." There is one, however, which, because of the powerful backing it receives not only from influential Jews but from Gentiles and even from governments, requires comment, viz., Zionism, the movement to establish a Jewish national homeland in Palestine.

Even if Zionism were not the football of imperialist powers, even if it were not allied with these powers, it would still be a cruel deception. For one thing, it could offer escape from anti-Semitic persecution only for those with the means to migrate. For another, Zionism cannot eradicate the evils of class rule, hence could offer no redemption for Jewish workers who comprise the majority of the Jewish population. The Jews who migrated to America seeking redemption found the sweatshop and Jewish masters. The Jewish workers who scrape together the wherewithal for transportation to Palestine would find there the conditions of class rule which prevail here. In the measured words of De Leon:

"Migration, whithersoever, spells 'redemption' for the oppressed Jew as little as for any other creed or race: Redemption is not, cannot be in the cards that leave enthroned the international tyrant — Capitalist

Domination. So, likewise, 'Zionism' spells 'redemption' for the oppressed Jew as little as similar nationalistic movements spell 'redemption' for any other and numerous oppressed races: Redemption is not, cannot be, in the cards where racial and creed vanities are made a cloak for class exploitation."

VII.

The Socialist Solution.

"In Socialism lies the world's only hope for human conditions on earth—just because Socialism knows that Sentiment is to Matter and Fact what powder is to the bullet. As powder, without the bullet, produces but a flash in the pan, Sentiment without Matter produces hypocrisy."—*De Leon.*

"Intellectuals" and so-called "leaders of thought," Gentile and Jewish, grapple with the problem of anti-Semitism in vain. Accepting capitalist premises, they must, perforce, accept also the inevitable and roiling conflicts of capitalist society. They approach anti-Semitism as they approach other evils spawned by capitalism, unemployment for example, by seeking to minimize the effects, leaving the cause untouched.

Involuntary idleness is a raw and cankerous sore on the body politic. Gone forever are the days when the alleged "laziness" and "improvidence" of the workers could be blamed. Everyone knows today that the economic system is wholly at fault. The anarchy of capitalist production, the slumps that follow industrial expansion as night the day, the steady and inexorable displacement of men by machines—these alone explain why, except in time of total war, the specter of mass unemployment haunts the capitalist world.

Yet how do our "intellectuals" and "leaders of thought" seek to exorcize this specter? Do they face the palpable facts? Do they acknowledge that as technology resulted in the disemployment of millions in the

past it must disemploy additional millions in the future; that the competing capitalists are under the compulsion of economic forces to lower the value of commodities by reducing the labor time required to produce them; that, therefore, external coercive factors compel the capitalists to adopt new and better labor-displacing machines?

And do the "intellectuals" and "leaders of thought" accept the logic of the palpable facts? Do they advocate a social system freed from the baneful caprices of the market, a society in which wealth is produced to satisfy human needs, in which machinery really lightens the labor of the toilers and shortens their working day?

They do not! They may speak glibly of "economic dislocations." They may admit the fact of technological unemployment. But, when it comes to the question of finding a solution, they put the cause of unemployment firmly and resolutely out of their minds — as though it were irrelevant and only remotely related to the problem! Hence their "solutions" consist of political poultices, of patent remedies concocted to allay the pain, of unemployment insurance, public works, and similar so-called panaceas.

By the same token, the "intellectuals" and "leaders of thought," Gentile and Jewish, seek to minimize the effects of anti-Semitism with "good-will" drives, "tolerance" pledges, "good-behavior" campaigns, and interreligious "cooperation." They address themselves to the problem, in other words, with the same obstinate and wilful blindness with which they address themselves to the problems of war, unemployment, crime and prostitution. The result is ignominious failure—and disillusionment and bitterness among those whom the "leaders of thought" mislead.

Socialism alone can cope with this problem and cleanse the social soil of the element that nourishes the hateful anti-Semitic seed. But what is Socialism?

"Socialism," wrote De Leon in a terse definition, "is that social system under which the necessaries of production [factories, tools, land, etc.] are owned, controlled and administered by the people, for the people, and under which, accordingly, the *cause* of political and economic despotism having been abolished, class rule is at an end. That is Socialism, nothing short of that."

Along with private ownership, Socialism abolishes the class State and substitutes therefor an entirely new form of government, an industrial government, based upon the industrial configuration of modern production. Industrial representation will take the place of geographic representation, and an Industrial Congress will replace the present political Congress. Such a form of government is rendered absolutely necessary by the complex nature of our vast productive mechanism. Modern production cuts across all arbitrary boundary lines and can no more be controlled and directed by Congressmen elected from geographical areas than a modern streamliner can be driven with a bull-whip. Yet it will be the first duty of government under a collectivist society to direct and administer production. Only a government directly connected with industry can fulfill this function, a government, in other words, whose administrators are elected from the industries, and by the workers who run the industries.

The worker under Socialism will be a free man. He will receive the full social value of his product. And he will enjoy, besides security and abundance, that

sense of being a part of things. All who labor will have a direct share in their government, in its higher councils, as well as in the council of the shop where each will perform the duties of his democratic citizenship.

Socialism implies also production of things for use, instead of for sale and profit as under capitalism. By planning over-all production, by establishing production goals for every industry based on estimates of human needs and desires, Socialism will put an end to the domination of society by a capricious market, and with it the anarchy that manifests itself in so-called business cycles.

Finally, Socialism abolishes the antagonisms and strife fomented by class rule. By making social and economic opportunity accessible to all, it abolishes classes, hence conflict between classes, and conflict within classes. It replaces the raw-boned struggle engendered by class rule with the principle of cooperation. And Socialism insures the success of this principle *by placing a premium on cooperation.*

There can be no such thing as "too many workers" under Socialism, just as there can be no such thing as "too efficient machinery." Indeed, the pressure of technological improvements and improvements in the conditions of labor will be constant and unrelenting, for new techniques and new machinery, instead of throwing men out of work, will throw hours out of the working day and render labor less arduous. Similarly, the greater the number of workers the greater the production, and the greater the production all the greater will be the wealth available for society's needs and enjoyment.

Under Socialism "The More the Merrier."

In truth, it will be "The More the Merrier." Prejudices instilled by a society of insecurity will vanish before the wholesome and cooperatve relations of Socialist society. At last men will face one another, not as enemies competing for business or jobs or place and position, but as human beings. In cooperating systematically with one another, to paraphrase Marx, they strip off the fetters from their individuality and develop the capabilities of their species.

As well imagine that men will literally cut off their noses to spite their faces as to imagine that workers under Socialism will object to their industry's recruits because of their race, or sex, or religion.

We do not claim for Socialism the power of magic. We have shown that anti-Semitic prejudices are of ancient origin. They will not vanish instantaneously from the minds they have poisoned the moment the revolution triumphs. Among those who have actively opposed, or passively accepted, the logic of history, prejudices will linger.

Aye, they will linger, *but under conditions which neutralize their effect and deprive them of all nourishment.* Penicillin, the wonder drug, the nemesis of parasitic bacteria in the human body, does not attack the coccus germ directly. It prevents the bacteria from utilizing a vital substance (pyruvic acid) and thereby literally starves it to death. Similarly with Socialism and the prejudices inherited from class rule. Socialism destroys the social strife and unrest from which anti-Semitism derives its nourishment. *It thereby destroys anti-Semitism!*

More Capitalism Means More Strife.

There is no escape from this logic. If the nightmare of capitalism is prolonged, social strife will grow increasingly malignant. Competition between the great powers, irrespective of Cairo agreements and Teheran pacts, must inevitably sharpen as the capitalist nations are under greater compulsion than ever to dispose of their surpluses. The problem of world markets has not been solved by the war; on the contrary, it has been aggravated by our colossal wartime expansion. If capitalism remains the ruling principle of society, bitter and desperate rivalry for markets will bring new and even more gigantic wars. Meanwhile, within each nation, the accelerated concentration of wealth throws small business into fiercer competition as the petty capitalists struggle to survive as exploiters of labor. Nor can the quack medicines now being concocted in Washington, "social security" plans, and road-building schemes, prevent the plague of mass unemployment from rising again among us, and with it profound social unrest.

Does anyone imagine that present "good will" drives and "tolerance" campaigns can stop the spread of anti-Semitism under these conditions? Why, already it is whispered that the "Jews" started the war, and that the "Jews" are scheming to "win the peace." The Jews are the capitalist reaction's patented alibi. They are the scapegoats ready at hand. The more violent the unrest among the masses, all the more energetically will the capitalists and their slummist agents spread the anti-Semitic poison. He who disputes this closes his eyes to the lessons of history. For him the millions of victims of German capitalism's pogrom have perished in vain.

The Enlightenment of Classconsciousness.

What is to be done? For the workers, Gentile and Jewish, there is but one course. That is to conduct an unremitting struggle for Socialism. A stupendous job of organizing lies ahead. It will require the energy and fortitude of every enlightened worker. The class interests of the working class, that mighty amalgam that will one day unite all who toil, must be underscored, emphasized, iterated and reiterated again and again. Sentiment has its place in this struggle, but sentiment, as De Leon points out, must be accompanied by logic and facts. Otherwise, it leads to hypocrisy. And nowhere is sentimental hypocrisy more evident than among those who grapple with the problem of anti-Semitism, yet ignore its social and economic cause.

You will never find a classconscious worker who harbors anti-Semitic thoughts, much less commits anti-Semitic acts. The classconscious worker is immune to anti-Semitism. He not only fights it with vigor, he fights it intelligently. He is not deceived by the machinations of the capitalist class. With De Leon he understands that—

"The capitalist class knows no country and no race, and any 'God' suits it so that 'God' approve of the exploitation of the worker. Despite all seeming wranglings, sometimes even wars, among them, the capitalist class is international, and presents a united front against the working class. But for that very reason the capitalist class is interested in keeping the workingmen divided among themselves. Hence it foments race and religious animosities that come down from the past."

Knowing this, the classconscious worker knows also that there are just two races in this world, just two nations and two religions. One of these is the exploiting

class; the other the exploited. Between the two the struggle is irreconcilable. It can end only with the complete triumph of the worker and the abolition of classes.

Program of the S.L.P.

The program to achieve the classless society of Socialism in America is determined by the conditions at hand. ". . . . the historic theory of Marx is the fundamental condition of all reasoned and consistent revolutionary tactics; to discover these tactics one has only to apply the theory to the economic and political conditions of the country in question." (Frederick Engels.)

The program of the Socialist Labor Party is based foursquare on this scientific principle. Our political set-up, our traditions, and, above all, our Constitution with its amendment provision, dictate that the workers unite in a party of their class to demand the unconditional surrender of capitalism. Article V of the Constitution is, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "the constitutional substitute for [armed] revolution."

But the very nature of class rule, the ferocity, lawlessness and tenacity of all ruling classes threatened with extinction as rulers dictate the organization by the workers of a physical power to enforce the mandate of the Socialist ballot. In highly industrialized America this power consists of the economic organization of the workers, along industrial lines, into a union inspired by its lofty mission, and disciplined to act with resolution and speed by taking over the instruments of wealth-production and distribution. The Socialist Industrial Union is the workers' power. It is the power of powers.

But it is more than that. It is also the administrative organization of future society. "Industrial Union-

ism is the Socialist Republic in the making," wrote De Leon, "and the goal once reached, the Industrial Union is the Socialist Republic in operation. Accordingly, the Industrial Union is, at once, the battering ram with which to pound down the fortress of capitalism, and the successor of the capitalist social structure itself."

This is the program and this the goal. It is a program and goal that merit the ungrudging support of all enlightened men and women. It is the only answer to the anti- and pro-Semites; it is the solution to the transcending Social Question of which anti-Semitism is but a part. In the incomparable language of De Leon:

"Socialism, with the light it casts around and within man, alone can cope with these problems. Like the sea that takes up in its bosom and dissolves the innumerable elements poured into it from innumerable rivers, to Socialism is the task reserved of solving one and all the problems that have come floating down the streams of time, and that have kept man in internecine strife with man."

(*The End.*)

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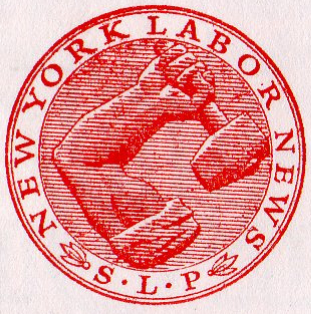

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